similar Councils to be held in all parts of the country not under martial law. In spite of a boycott by the nationalists, the Syrian elections were held, but the Representative Councils which resulted from them proved ineffective.

The next step was to form a Government which should be more acceptable to public opinion than that which had been presided over by Subhi Barakat since the creation of the Syrian State, and which resigned in December, 1925. The Presidency of the State was offered to Shaikh Taj ad-Din al-Hasani, the son of one of the most respected religious leaders in Damascus. He laid down certain conditions of his taking office. The High Commissioner could not, however, accept them, and after some delay appointed as provisional President Damad Ahmad Nami, a Circassian by origin. He formed a Ministry which for a short time included members of the 'People's Party'; its programme envisaged the summoning of a Constituent Assembly, the conclusion of a Franco-Syrian treaty and the attainment of Syrian unity by negotiation with the other States included in the French Mandate.

II

In June, 1926, M. de Jouvenel declared to the Permanent Mandates Commission that the French Government intended to negotiate a Franco-Syrian treaty similar to the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922. Next month he resigned and was succeeded by M. Ponsot. The new High Commissioner took the first step towards the establishment of the self-government which had been foreseen by his predecessor, by preparing for the elaboration of an Organic Law. A beginning had indeed already been made with this: M. de Jouvenel had consulted various notables on the form which the future political organization of the country should take.

In July, 1927, M. Ponsot made a declaration in which he explicitly identified himself with the policy approved by the French Government and the League of Nations and defined by his predecessors. Regard for the wishes of the people concerned had, he maintained, been the idea which had throughout inspired French policy. In accordance with this idea, the framing of the definitive constitution of the countries under French Mandate was to be the work of those peoples. The Mandatory Power would exert itself to bring about a general agreement and to arbitrate in any differences which

11: Hourani 8-4 (no date) 1946 MD1 Syria MD1

642 enable the Mandatory Power to carry out its obligations
648 under the Covenant. Thus Article 2 was modified, and stated merely that 'Syria forms an indivisible political unity'; and an additional article (116) was added to the effect that 'the provisions of the present Constitution are not, and cannot be, in opposition to the obligations undertaken by France in regard to Syria, particularly obligations towards the League of Nations. . . . So long as the international obligations of France in regard to Syria remain in force, any provisions of the present Constitution which are of a nature to affect those obligations will be applicable only under conditions to be determined by agreement between the French and Syrian Governments'.

Simultaneously a number of other decrees were promulgated. In addition to the Organic Laws for the Governments of Latakia and Jebel Druze, already mentioned, they included laws for the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, and for a Conference of Common Interests composed of Delegations from the States and Governments, and charged with the management of their common financial and economic affairs.[1]

12

646 The elections for the Chamber of Deputies took place in January, 1932, and the Chamber met in June. More than three-quarters of its members were 'moderates'. Only a quarter were 'extreme' nationalists demanding full and immediate independence; but as had happened in the Constituent Assembly, the minority soon showed itself to be the dominant element. Its hopes were raised and its case strengthened by the recent conclusion of an Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, the termination of the Mandate and the admission of Iraq into the League of Nations (1930-1932).

643 The first task of the Chamber was to choose the President
645 of the Republic. It elected Muhammad Ali al-Abid, son of
648 Izzat Pasha al-Abid who had been secretary to the Sultan Abdul-Hamid II. He entrusted the construction of a Cabinet to a prominent moderate, Haqqi al-Azm, who formed a Ministry of which half the members were 'moderates' and half 'extreme' nationalists. Negotiations were opened between the Ministry and the High Commissioner for the conclusion of a Franco-Syrian Treaty.

[1] For texts of these documents, see Dareste, *Les Constitutions Modernes*, V, pp. 676–98.

722 been for the large programme of public works undertaken by the Ninth Army; they include the construction of a railway line between Haifa and Tripoli, the building of roads and the execution of schemes of irrigation.

15

648 After long hesitation, the Free French at last decided to
642 restore constitutional government. This step was made easier in Syria by the death of Shaikh Taj in January, 1943. A few days later M. Helleu, who was deputizing for General Catroux, absent in North Africa, announced that the General would authorize the re-establishment of the Constitution on his return to the Levant. In March, 1943, provisional Governments were established in both Syria and Lebanon in order to make the necessary arrangements for the elections; that in Syria was headed by Ata al-Ayyubi, that in Lebanon by Dr. Ayyub Tabit.

666 In Syria the arrangements were soon completed. It was
646 decided that the Chamber should consist of 124 deputies,
665 including a number of representatives of the minorities; and that the elections for it should be held in two stages. The primary elections were held on July 10th-11th, the secondary on July 26th. They resulted in an overwhelming majority for the National Bloc. The victory of the Bloc was more complete in Damascus than in Aleppo, where there was a split in the nationalist ranks.

643 On August 17th, 1943, the new Chamber met and elected
645 Shukri al-Quwatli President of the Republic and Faris al-Khuri President of the Chamber. A few days later a new Ministry took office, drawn almost wholly from the Bloc. It was constituted as follows:

Prime Minister	Saadullah al-Jabiri.
Minister for Foreign Affairs	Jamil Mardam Bey.
Minister of the Interior ..	Lutfi al-Haffar.
Minister of Finance ..	Khalid al-Azm.
Minister of Defence and Public Instruction ..	Nasuhi al-Bukhari.
Minister of Public Works and Supplies	Mazhar Raslan.
Minister of Justice ..	Abdur-Rahman al-Kayyali.
Minister of Agriculture and Commerce ..	Tawfiq Shamiyyah.

11: Hourani S-4 (no date) 1946 MD1 Syria MD1

The decision on the form of political organization to be adopted was reached sooner in Syria than in Lebanon. In September, 1941, there was published a letter from General Catroux to Shaikh Taj ad-Din al-Hasani. In this letter the General stated that, after having diligently consulted public opinion and having no object in view but the good of the country, he considered Shaikh Taj ad-Din tc be better qualified than any one else to organize the new independent and sovereign Syrian State., 'I propose therefore to Your Excellency that you take in hand the destinies of Syria with the title, the prerogatives and the privileges attached to the office of President of the Syrian Republic, and as such set up the government of the State with the shortest possible delay. If, as I hope, you accept this offer, you can be certain of my entire support and full collaboration."[1]

The new President was the son of a Moslem divine of Damascus, Shaikh Badr ad-Din. He himself had been prominent in Syrian politics in the years between the two wars, as an advocate of collaboration with the Mandatory Power who had at the same time always regarded himself as a nationalist. He had twice been Prime Minister: from 1928 to 1931 and again from 1934 to 1935. Since 1935 he had taken no active part in Syrian political life and his reputation for wisdom and probity was by no means high.

A few days later, on September 28th, 1941, General Catroux proclaimed the independence of Syria:

'Syrians,

'.On June 8th last, at the time of the entry into the Levant of the Allied Armies, in a manifesto which I addressed to you in the name of Free France and of her Chief, General de Gaulle, I recognized Syria as a sovereign and independent State, under the promise of a treaty guaranteeing our reciprocal relations.

'The British Government, the Ally of Free France, acting in accord with her, associated itself by a simultaneous declaration with this important political act. On the 16th of this month, I put my declaration of June 8th into effect by translating into established fact the principle there enunciated.

'Thus the era is begun in which independent and sovereign Syria will herself control her destinies.

[1] *La Bourse Egyptienne* (Cairo), September 17th, 1941.

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15: Khadduri S-4 (no date) 1951 MDI Syria MDI

last time on August 10, 1928, passed a resolution empowering its President to negotiate on its behalf with the authorities "for the fulfilment of the country's [national] aspirations." But negotiations between the leading Syrian nationalists and the High Commissioner led to no agreement. Following an exchange of a number of proposals and counter-proposals,[13] the High Commissioner, by a decree issued on February 5, 1929, prorogued the Constituent Assembly *sine die*." It was over a year later, on May 14, 1930, that M. Ponsot, after consultations in Paris, surprised the nationalists by promulgating the Constitution. The text included Article 2 as altered by a previous proposal of his to reduce it to "Syria is an indivisible political unity," but the other articles in question remained unchanged. There appeared also a new provision (Article 116) withholding from application all provisions which infringed upon France's international obligations relative to Syria, or dealt with the maintenance of security or with foreign relations. Such provisions would become applicable only after special agreement between Syria and the French Government. The Nationalists somewhat grudgingly decided to take part in the elections on this basis, but another eighteen months elapsed before M. Ponsot issued orders for holding them. The elections were finally completed on March 30, 1932, and resulted in a victory for the moderates rather than the nationalist elements.

When Parliament met on June 7, 1932, there was considerable discussion regarding the election of the President. The Nationalists' candidate, Hashim al-Atasi, could muster only 17 votes; nevertheless they declared their intention of withdrawing from Parliament if the Government insisted upon the election of one of its two candidates: Subhi Barakat or Haqqi al-Azm. A compromise was finally reached by electing Muhammad Ali al-Abid, who was *persona grata* to both groups, on the understanding that he would select Haqqi al-Azm, candidate of the moderates, as Prime Minister. In this way the first republican administration was established by the French in cooperation with the Syrian

[13] For these proposals and counter-proposals, see Amin Sa'id, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 550-51. For the French version, see *Rapport à la Société des Nations sur la situation de la Syrie et du Liban*, pp. 20-21.

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Za'im was overthrown by his opponents on August 14, 1949, having remained in power only four and a half months. Colonel Sami al-Hinnawi, who led this second coup and executed Za'im, reversed the policy of friendly relations with the Saudi-Egyptian bloc and again opened negotiations with Iraq for a Syro-Iraqi union. Elections for a Constituent Assembly were held in November, but when the Assembly met on December 12 and was about to approve a project for union with Iraq, a third army move on December 14, led by Colonel Adib Shishakli, sealed the fate of unity with Iraq under a dual monarchy. Shishakli declared that the Army would no longer interfere in politics and that government by civilians would be maintained; but it remained clear that the Army would continue to resist any policy which ran counter to its wishes.

The Constituent Assembly elected Rushdi al-Kikhya, leader of the People's Party which won the elections, as its President, and Hashim al-Atasi, an old member of the Nationalist Party, as the temporary head of the State. On January 7, 1950, after a long cabinet crisis attributed to the intervention of the Army in politics, President Atasi took an oath of office and the Constituent Assembly gave temporary legislative and executive powers to the Government, subject to its control, until the promulgation of a Constitution. In the meantime a committee of 33 members, under the chairmanship of Nazim al-Qudsi, was appointed to prepare a draft constitution for the Assembly. The Committee began its meetings on January 4 and completed its work three months later. As its chairman stated in his report to the Assembly, the Committee made use of no less than fifteen European and Asiatic (including Arab) constitutions, and received proposals from individuals and organizations either directly or through the press.[22] The draft Constitution, consisting of 177 articles, was communicated to the President of the Assembly on April 15, 1950, but debate did not get underway until July 7. After prolonged discussion, first on the draft generally and then article by article, the Constitution was approved with considerable changes (including reduction to 166 articles) on September 5,

[22] See text of the Report in the *Official Gazette*, Vol. 32 (June 22, 1950), Appendix, pp. 1–2.

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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druzes, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, and yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria an

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ness on both sides. In Syria (and to a lesser degree, in Lebanon) the possibility of long-term co-operation between the nationalist politicians and the Mandatary was frustrated alike by the attitude of most French officials and by that of the local urban populations who, though they later signed the 1936 treaty, desired full self-government.[1] The advent to power in France of the Front Populaire in 1936 eased the situation: treaties with Syria and Lebanon were negotiated whereby the Mandate was to be transformed into an alliance with independent states, but under which France could still maintain troops in the Levant. However, the French Parliament was unwilling to ratify the Syrian treaty under the lengthening shadow of the impending Second World War, and Syrian indignation was increased when the need for Turkey's friendship led France in 1939 to cede to Turkey the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, afterwards renamed Hatay. Leading Syrian politicians refused to co-operate with the French on these terms, and on the eve of the outbreak of war the French High Commissioner once again suspended the Syrian constitution and governed the country through French and Syrian officials; the same procedure was applied to Lebanon after the outbreak of war.

When metropolitan France fell in 1940 the Mandate was carried on by the Vichy Government until the latter's acquiescence in the use of the Levant airfields by the German air force necessitated the intervention of British and Free French forces in June 1941. After a short but bitter campaign, the Vichy forces signed an armistice in July 1941. In the struggle between the Allies and the Axis and between Vichy and de Gaulle the Syrians and Lebanese took no part, but their independence had been promised by the Allied Command. On behalf of the Free French, General Catroux, in a statement on 8 June 1941, proclaimed the end of the Mandate, but in fact the Free French regarded themselves as trustees for France's position, seeking to maintain them by installing Syrian and Lebanese supporters of France in the seats of authority. The Free French had, however, eventually to yield to the demand for popular elections, which was supported by the British Government as soon as the victory at al-Alamain (October 1942) had finally removed the threat of Axis invasion from the Middle East. In Syria the elections of 1943 brought into office the National Bloc with Shukri al-Quwatli as President of the Republic and Saadullah Jabri, Jamil Mardam, and Faris al-Khouri as parliamentary leaders. In the Lebanon also nationalists were successful and the leader of the 'Constitutional Bloc',

[1] For details, see A. H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon* (London, RIIA, 1946).

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Bishara al-Khouri, became President with the pan-Arab Riyad as-Sulh as Prime Minister; these nationalists were not satisfied with mere titular sovereignty but claimed the reality of independence, and in November 1943 a Free French resort to force against them was reversed only by a British intervention, endorsed by the United States Government. The Free French were thus constrained to transfer most branches of the administration to the Syrian and Lebanese Parliaments, but retained control of the local 'Troupes Spéciales' and obstructed the proper equipping of the Syrian gendarmerie. The French intention was to make this vital concession of authority conditional upon the conclusion of a Franco-Syrian treaty which would give France much the same strategic, economic, and cultural advantages as Britain had retained in Iraq by the already obsolescent Treaty of 1930. In March 1945 Syria and Lebanon had been admitted as sovereign states to membership both of the United Nations and of the League of Arab States. The Syrian nationalists were not prepared to subordinate their sovereignty to an imposed alliance with France, and the landing of a contingent of Senegalese troops immediately after VE-day (in disregard of a personal appeal of Churchill to de Gaulle) was regarded in both Syria and Lebanon as clear evidence of a French resort to coercion. Sporadic outbreaks of violence between the Syrian gendarmerie and the local nationalists on the one hand and the French garrison on the other became general, and when, at the end of May 1945, the local French Commander carried out a bombardment of Damascus the British Government ordered their Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, to intervene, by force if necessary, to restore order in a region whose security was vital for British communications in the still-continuing war in the Far East. The crisis accelerated the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops, concerning which the demands of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments were supported by the Security Council; the process was completed in Syria by 15 April 1946 and in Lebanon by the end of the year.

Between the wars, the French Mandate had allowed political development in Lebanon to produce at least a façade of parliamentary democracy, with arrangements between the Muslim and Christian leaders on the division of political power and prerogatives, and the active commercial and intellectual life of Lebanon made progress with a minimum of government interference. In Syria, however, local separatisms which French policy had encouraged made it very difficult for any Syrian Government to knit the people together from Damascus; the

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foundations for commercial and intellectual progress were less firmly established than in Lebanon, and the Muslim leaders of the political parties were given little opportunity to acquire the technique of government. The root of the trouble was that the French were opposed to self-government and tended to refuse office to nationalist political leaders, except for short, self-defeating periods. But though they failed to foster self-government, the French did much good in both Syria and Lebanon as engineers, doctors, educators, and archaeologists, and performed a valuable service in training at least a cadre of competent civil servants.

With the end of the French Mandate there emerged two sovereign and independent Republics with many mutual and some conflicting interests. For some years the rest of the world failed to distinguish between the two, and it is still possible to find educated persons who suppose that Beirut is the capital of Syria. Syria and Lebanon are, to some extent, mutually dependent or complementary, but they are distinct and their political development will be considered separately.

Government and Politics

(*a*) Syria

Under her constitution Syria is a Republic in which the legislative power is in the hands of a Chamber of Deputies numbering 114 members in 1949. The deputies are elected by direct suffrage granted to all men and to women of a certain educational standard. The representation of religious minorities is shown in the table on p. 466 above. The President of the Republic must be a Muslim and is elected for a term of five years by the Parliament; he nominates the Prime Minister who appoints his cabinet ministers. The Parliament is elected for four years but may be dissolved by the President. The constitution was suspended in 1952 by the military dictatorship and a new one on the Presidential model adopted in July 1953.

Damascus is the seat of government and there are ten provinces, each under a Governor who is assisted by a staff of civil servants representing most of the ministries. The provinces (*muhafaza*) are divided in *qazas*, each under a *qaimaqam*, who is a civil servant under the Ministry of Interior; the *qazas* are divided into *nahiyas* under *mudirs*. Within a *nahiya* may be several villages, each of which is rather loosely under the control of the *mukhtar* who may be elected by the village or appointed by the ministry. The judiciary are independent of the legislature and

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(2) The Prime Minister and the Ministers may attend meetings of the Chamber, may address the Chamber and may obtain assistance and benefit from the experience of the officials of the Government during the debates. 642 646

(3) Any minister shall attend the meetings of the Chamber when asked by its President to do so.

Art. 65. Any member of the Chamber is entitled to introduce an interpellation, or to submit questions to the Government and to obtain a reply within the period fixed by the Rules of Procedure.

Art. 66. (1) The Rules of Procedure shall determine for the Chamber the method for conducting discussions, debates, interpellations, interrogations, voting, the powers of the office and the committees and all other work of the Chamber.

(2) The Rules of Procedure shall have the power of a law and shall not be amended except in accordance with their own provisions.

Art. 67 (1) The Chamber shall not consider a motion of non-confidence against the Cabinet or any one of its members unless presented by fifteen deputies or more, and shall not be discussed except two days after its presentation.

(2) If the absolute majority of the total number of the Deputies adopt a motion of non-confidence, the entire Cabinet shall resign.

(3) A Minister against whom a vote of non-confidence has been adopted by the Chamber shall resign.

Art. 68. The Chamber shall choose a committee to consider and investigate all petitions submitted by an individual or a group of citizens. The committee shall inquire into every complaint and shall inform the petitioner accordingly.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXECUTIVE POWER

Art. 69. The Executive Power shall be vested, on behalf of the People, in the President of the Republic and the Cabinet, within the limits assigned by this Constitution. 642 643

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I.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

642 Art. 70. The President of the Republic is the Chief of State.
643 The law shall determine the privileges and honors due to his office.

Art. 71. (1) The Chamber shall elect the President of the Republic by secret ballot.

(2) A two-thirds majority of the number of Deputies shall be necessary at the first ballot.

(3) An absolute majority shall be sufficient at the second ballot.

(4) A relative majority shall be sufficient at the third ballot.

Art. 72. No person shall be eligible for the Presidency of the Republic who does not fulfil the following conditions:

(1) He must have been a Syrian national for the last ten years.

(2) He must have all qualifications of eligibility for the Chamber of Deputies.

(3) He must have completed his fortieth year.

Art. 73. (1) The President shall hold office for a term of five years. He may be re-elected only after an interval of similar duration.

(2) If the period of office of the President expires simultaneously with that of the Chamber, the President of the Republic shall remain in office until a new Chamber is elected and meets. This additional period shall not exceed three months.

Art. 74. The offices of President of the Republic and of Deputy may not be held simultaneously.

Art. 75. Before assuming office, the President shall take, in the presence of the Chamber of Deputies, the following oath:

"I swear by Almighty God to observe the Constitution and laws of the country, to be loyal to the freedoms, the public good and the wealth of the people, and to the Republican Regime, and to strive to the best of my ability to safeguard the independence of the country, defend its territorial integrity and work for the achievement of the unity of the Arab countries."

Art. 76. One month at most and fifteen days at least before the

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expiration of the term of office of the President of the Republic, the Chamber shall elect a new President. 642 643

Art. 77. (1) The Government shall keep the President of the Republic advised of the development of international negotiations.

(2) The President shall conclude and sign treaties after their approval by the Chamber.

(3) The President shall accredit heads of Diplomatic Missions abroad and receive the representatives of foreign countries.

Art. 78. The President may call the Cabinet to meet under his chairmanship and order that a record of such meetings be made and preserved.

Art. 79. All instruments issued by the President, such as decrees, documents and letters concerning the affairs of State, with the exception of those relating to the appointment or resignation of the Prime Minister, must be countersigned by the Prime Minister and the Minister concerned.

Art. 80. The President shall sign the warrants of appointment of magistrates and officials who, according to the law, must be appointed by warrant. He shall also sign all decrees concerning organization and all other decrees which may be referred to him in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Art. 81. (1) If the President does not sign decrees or does not refer them to the Supreme Court within ten days of their transmission to him because they conflict with the Constitution or a law, the Prime Minister shall promulgate them and they shall be considered effective.

(2) If the Supreme Court does not decide on the decrees referred to it within ten days of their receipt, the Prime Minister shall promulgate them and they shall be considered effective.

(3) An exception shall be made of the decree dissolving the Chamber of Deputies which the President can reject without stating his reasons for so doing, and also the decrees confirming the death penalty.

Art. 82. The President shall have power to declare war and conclude peace, upon a decision of the Cabinet and after consultation with the Council of National Defense and the approval of the Chamber of Deputies.

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642 Art. 83. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army
643 and Chairman of the Council of National Defense.

Art. 84. The President shall communicate with the Chamber of Deputies by means of messages addressed to the President of the Chamber.

Art. 85. (1) The President of the Republic may issue a decree dissolving the Chamber; such a decree must be taken by the Cabinet and state the grounds on which the dissolution was decided.

(2) The Chamber shall not be dissolved before the expiration of eighteen months of the date of its election.

(3) When the Chamber is dissolved the Cabinet shall resign and the President of the Republic shall appoint a cabinet of new members to supervise the elections.

Art. 86. (1) The President shall be held responsible for violating the Constitution and for high treason.

(2) He shall also be held responsible for ordinary offences.

(3) The President shall not be tried except by the Supreme Court.

(4) A motion to impeach the President and to try him by the Supreme Court shall only be discussed when a quarter of the number of Deputies submit a written request to the President of the Chamber giving the reasons for their motion. The request shall be referred, before its discussion, to the legal and constitutional committees meeting jointly. The two committees shall submit their report within three days of the receipt of the request.

A special session shall then be fixed to discuss the impeachment of the President.

No other business may be discussed during that meeting.

(5) For the impeachment of the President of the Republic in any circumstance whatsoever and his trial by the Supreme Court, the approval of the absolute majority of the total number of Deputies shall be required.

(6) When the President of the Republic is impeached, the Presidency shall be considered vacant until the Supreme Court shall have rendered its decision.

(7) A law of a constitutional nature shall determine the procedure for impeachment and trial by the Supreme Court.

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Art. 87. The President shall exercise the prerogatives of pardon. 642

Art. 88. (1) When the President of the Republic is unable to discharge the duty of his office, the President of the Chamber of Deputies shall assume that duty provided he yields, during this time, the Presidency of the Chamber to its Vice President. 643

(2) Should the Presidency become vacant through the death or resignation of the President, the Chamber shall be summoned by its President within ten days therefrom for the purpose of electing the new President. Should it not be thus summoned, the Chamber shall meet of its own accord on the eleventh day.

(3) If the Chamber is dissolved at the time the vacancy occurs or two months only are left before its mandate expires, the President of the Chamber shall continue to assume the above-mentioned duties until the new Chamber meets.

Art. 89. The emoluments of the President shall be fixed by a law.

2.

THE CABINET

Art. 90. At the opening of each term of the Legislature, or after the election of a new President of the Republic, or after a vote of non-confidence for the Cabinet, or its resignation, or if the Presidency of the Cabinet becomes vacant for some reasons, the President of the Republic shall appoint a Prime Minister and upon the proposal of the Prime Minister the members of the Cabinet. 642 645

Art. 91. (1) The Cabinet shall submit its programme to the Chamber for a vote of confidence.

(2) A vote of confidence shall be considered granted if approved by a majority of the Deputies present.

Art. 92. (1) The Cabinet shall direct the policy of the State.

(2) The Cabinet shall meet, presided over by the Prime Minister, to consider the following matters:

(a) Bills

(b) Decrees concerning organization

(c) The State budget and the special budgets

(d) Internal and foreign policy

(e) Cases which the Prime Minister, or any Minister, with the approval of the former, submits to the Cabinet for consideration.